1: Karsten--223 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
116, 684, 586, 762 (1928-29)

"Whatever the cause may be, if the husband convicts his wife of adultery, he mercilessly wreaks his vengeance upon her. In regard to the Jibaros we can hardly speak of 'divorce', because in a case of unfaithfulness the man seldom contents himself with simply repudiating his wife; cruel ill-treatment or death is the common punishment for such a crime. Generally the enraged husband gives vent to his anger by beating the woman or by piercing her legs, thighs, and breast with his lance or his forest knife, so that she not seldom succumbs by bleeding to death. Wives ill-treated in this way in some cases put an end of their own life by taking varvasco poison, a way in which unhappy Jibaro women sometimes commit suicide, as in other tribes of Eastern Ecuador."

12: Rivet--608 (no date) 1907 Jívaro
116, 586

The husband has the right not only to repudiate his wife, but even to kill her, sometimes without the slightest motive; sometimes when she has grown too old and cannot work any longer, he turns her out of his house, with no thought of the long time she has served him (1). This omnipotence becomes particularly odious when the unfortunate woman, instead of belonging to a friendly or related family, has been captured from an enemy tribe in the course of a war expedition.

1. Coleccion de cartas sobre las misiones dominicanas, op. cit. 6th map, page 57.

34:Harner E-4, 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

venting them from engaging in extramarital affairs is believed by the Jívaro to be proportional to their numbers. Of one man, who had a record six wives, an informant said, "He must have eyes in the back of his head." A jealous husband, when he leaves the house, sometimes lectures his wives not to engage in sexual relations with any men, saying that he will learn of it if they do. It is not uncommon for such a man to leave a son or daughter in the house to spy on their own mother and to inform him if she speaks to any men.

Extramarital affairs frequently result in the wife's leaving to live as the wife of her lover, which is viewed by the husband as "wife-stealing," one of the most serious Jívaro offenses and one for which the punitive sanction against the wife-taker is death, and against the woman the slashing of her scalp with a machete. To avoid retribution, the couple commonly flees to a distant neighborhood of the tribe, hopefully one which will be too distant for vengeance to be visited upon them. Such cases of wife-stealing and consequent fleeing are so common that they are one of the major reasons given for the wide geographic distribution of persons who are fairly close relatives.

The new couple usually justifies its action on the basis of romantic love, a concept which is strongly developed among the Jívaro. Young men frequently play love songs softly on musical bows at sunset and hope, thereby, magically to cause their sweethearts to think of them, no matter how distant they may be. Love potions are also used, and much of the featherwork, adornment and face painting worn by men is recognized to be designed, in part, to make them attractive to females. Girls and women typically exert less effort to glamorize their appearance, but do frequently wear "perfume bundles" of sweet-smelling seeds against their breasts.

34:Harner E-4, 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

of the *tawaspā* type (worth approximately one shotgun) and strings of beads. This formally terminates the matter.

Seduction of one's wife by one's brother usually does not seem to be considered quite as grave an offense as ordinary adultery. It still warrants a slashing of the offender's head, but the cutting sometimes is done with just a toucan beak instead of a machete. An offender who is a brother of the husband never has to pay anything in addition.

In cases where the husband discovers the offense at the moment of commission, his anger affects the degree of variability from the norm in the actual manner of punishment. Thus sometimes the husband may kill the offender or mutilate the genitalia of the woman. Ordinarily, however, the wife is not punished, particularly when she is not caught in the act and when she is the one who informs the husband of the incident.

Rape is not recognized as such and informants could recall no case of a woman violently resisting sexual intercourse. They said that a man would never commit such an act if the woman resisted, because she would tell her family and they would then punish him. Also, it seems that both men and women tend to regard adultery as a spicy diversion, whose attraction seems to be sufficient to make rape unnecessary.

A woman has the right to punish a husband guilty of adultery. If she actually discovers him in the act, she is expected to slash his scalp with a machete. She rarely attacks the other woman. The husband thus slashed goes to live at the house of his father, or of an avuncular relative called father, or of a brother. Usually after about a month, his wife sends him the message that if he wants to return to her, he should do so immediately or she will cut his head again. If

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684 she does not thus invite him to return, however, he remains
593 separated.

If a man repeatedly commits adultery, his wife has the
• 586 right to poison him. Of course, the brothers and other close
837 relatives of the man will attempt to murder her in retaliation.
[278] Poisoning is also the sanction against a woman who deserts her husband. Desertion of a wife by a man is virtually unheard of, except when she is implacably hostile towards him, in which case it is proper for him to leave.

684 Incest is a sexual offense that merits different degrees of
835 punishment depending upon the degree of relationship. Sex-
605 ual intercourse with any known relative other than a cross-
582 cousin (*wabe*), or a more distant relative also classified as a *wabe*, is considered to be some degree of incest. If such a pair marries, they lose the respect of the neighborhood, and are called jokingly, *aka* (a species of worm) because, as one informant said, "worms enter wherever they like." The couple will be told, "We don't want *aka* to multiply here. Go to live far away." Although the couple is embarrassed, they ordinarily remain in the same neighborhood.

684 Deemed far more serious are cases of incest within the
593 conjugal family, i.e., between parents and their children or
835 between siblings. If a man is found to have had intercourse
[605] with his daughter, one of the girl's *wabe* (male cross-cousin
[586] and potential mate) has the right to beat him with his fists. Then the father usually leaves the neighborhood and also his wife separates from him. If a man has intercourse with his own sister, a brother has the right to slash his head, and to tell him to leave the neighborhood. If there is no brother, it is
[605] the duty of the father. If the father is not living, a male cross-cousin has the right to beat, but not to slash, the offender.

684 Clearly defined norms exist regarding the inheritance of